
History and Politics of and Islamists' Responses to Local Governance in Pakistan

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Abstract

The study explores that local governance models implemented in Pakistan by various successive military and civilian regimes reflect the inseparability of these models from its colonial past. The paper further aims to explore responses of Islamic Political Parties (IPPs) to local governance in its electoral manifestoes as well as news content (1998-2006). The main purpose is to critically examine the local governance models in Pakistan under various governments. Three major Local Government Ordinances promulgated in Pakistan include: Basic Democracies of 1959, implemented by General Ayub Khan, Local Self Government of 1979, issued by General Zia-ul-Haq, and the Devolution Plan of 2000, implemented by General Pervez Musharraf. The fourth local governance model of 2015 is perceived to be an aberration. This research concerns aspects of colonial system of Local Governance that continue in the post-colonial Pakistan with few amendments. . The study attempts to evaluate these models through two different theoretical perspectives, i.e. Bureaucratic and Majoritarian models. Since independence of Pakistan, local bodies remained indirect and non-partisan throughout military regimes mainly to manipulate the system in favor of incumbent regime. A visible change occurred during Musharraf era, and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) government recently claimed to bring change in the local governance model but it still borrows ideas from colonial local politics. Methodologically, this discussion involves comparative and analytical approaches. Despite some innovations, the paper concludes that KP model (2015) still adheres to colonial model.

Keywords: Local Government, Basic Democracies, Devolution Plan 2000, KP model 2015

Introduction

Over the last few decades, countries ranging from developing nations of Asia and Africa to developed European states are engaged in decentralization and Local Government reforms. The Local Government (LG), as grass root governance, can be defined as the first tier at the pyramid of government.¹ It is decentralization of more power to public.² As a modern political concept, it has replaced the old parochial system where political power is concentrated in hands of feudal and tribal elites. Generally, common people seek equity in distribution of resources to preserve their identity and culture. Therefore, inclusion of diverse groups in political power to attain equal rights has become a popular practice of the day and in

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this connection local governance system is the best way to empower people at grass root level. The local government is an established system in many states of the world. But Pakistan, with its diverse population, faced failure to anchor the roots of LG system in the state's political structure on permanent basis.

This paper makes an analysis of local government systems in Pakistan that prevailed in colonial and post-colonial eras. Every time institutional redesigning through reforms led to accumulation of political power in the hands of center³ and ignored transfer of political, executive and financial powers to local level⁴. LG system introduced in military regimes, keeping aside political participation, paved the way to strengthen the respective pioneer government. This paper takes into account the ways to keep the colonial legacies alive for sustenance of the particular regime. The paper also gives details of recently launched model of LG System in KP (2015) which is the first ever reformed model given by a civilian government. The LG system in all democratic regimes (except the contemporary one) was solely deprived from the state power structure.

Decentralization is another key term which is important in the discourse of local governance. Main literature reviewed for this term points out two lines of thought; the first stream supports decentralization i.e. Ostrom et al. 1993, Putnam, 1993, Faguet, 2005, Robertson, 2002, Litvack, 2014, Cheema, 2006, Klugman, 1994, who propounded that it can make a government more responsive by shifting resources to more homogeneous groups at local level. The second stream disagrees; they say that it creates elite cartels⁵. The overall literature available on LG is rich. Some reputed scholars including Muhammad Waseem (1994), Ali Cheema (2010), Hassan Gardezi (1985), Mughees Ahmed (2012) and Nick Manning (2003) have addressed LG system of Pakistan from various perspectives. But a debate regarding LGs continuity of colonial legacies is rarely available. Hence, the paper addresses this institution of LG in Pakistan from a new standpoint.

The remainder of paper is organized as follows. Section two focuses on main features of LG system in colonial era. The section that follows addresses the LG system prevailed in Pakistan in the post-Independence era. It discusses the LGs system along with their functions in the military regimes of Ayub, Zia and Musharraf and a model given by civilian government implemented in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in 2015. This section also reflects the model of LG system in contemporary Pakistan. The last section makes an analysis of colonial continuity of local governance in Pakistan during the relevant regimes.

Local Government System in the Colonial Era

The British colonial power introduced the local governance system in sub-continent.⁶ The first separate tier at local level was set up to control the public functions of a community. LG system was mainly introduced in Bengal, Madras, Bombay⁷ and Punjab and later on was extended to other provinces of India. During that period, people were not empowered at grass root level because British organized the state structure on top-down model.⁸ Primarily, the system was administered through nominated legislature. Gradually, the power was transferred to the elected district and municipal councils in urban and rural areas. The establishment of first municipal institute in the Bengal presidency led to the configuration of Sanitary Committees in 1842. The same act was adopted for Lahore and Rawalpindi in 1867.

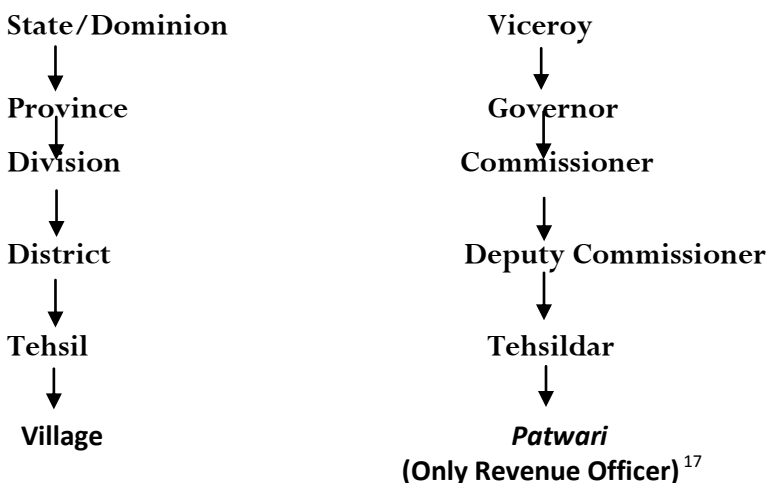
The establishment of the municipal committees through elections brought more inclusion at the grass root level in the sub-continent. Furthermore, endorsement of the Punjab Municipal Act (1884) and the '*Punchayyat* (Council of Five)' Act (1912) enhanced the LG system. In rural areas, local feudal and tribal leaders ruled over the *Punchayyat* system⁹ and no public participation remained limited.¹⁰ The Government of India Act 1935 permitted a restricted provincial autonomy and allowed provinces to legislate on local government level. This act confined more power to center and provinces.¹¹ Moreover, members of LGs were not directly elected but nominated through the Indian Civil Service.¹²

Local Government System in the Post-Colonial Era in Pakistan

Soon after independence, Pakistan promulgated Indian Act 1935 with few amendments as interim constitution. Pakistan inherited¹³ LGs model from British and since then it has been implemented with slight amendments. Being post-colonial state, parochial and primordial attachments were embedded in Pakistani political culture and remained dominant for decades even after independence. In this connection, local governments in rural areas comprising of local elites, mainly feudal lords and tribal leaders,¹⁴ remained quite influential to resolve local issues.¹⁵ Two tiers of government i.e. district and *Punchayyat*, were configured to control local population through their elites who were under district magistrates' control.¹⁶ At district level, ICS members (civil servants) were appointed by the center (fig.1) without fixing any proportion of representation. A narrow political participation was accepted with a limited franchise.

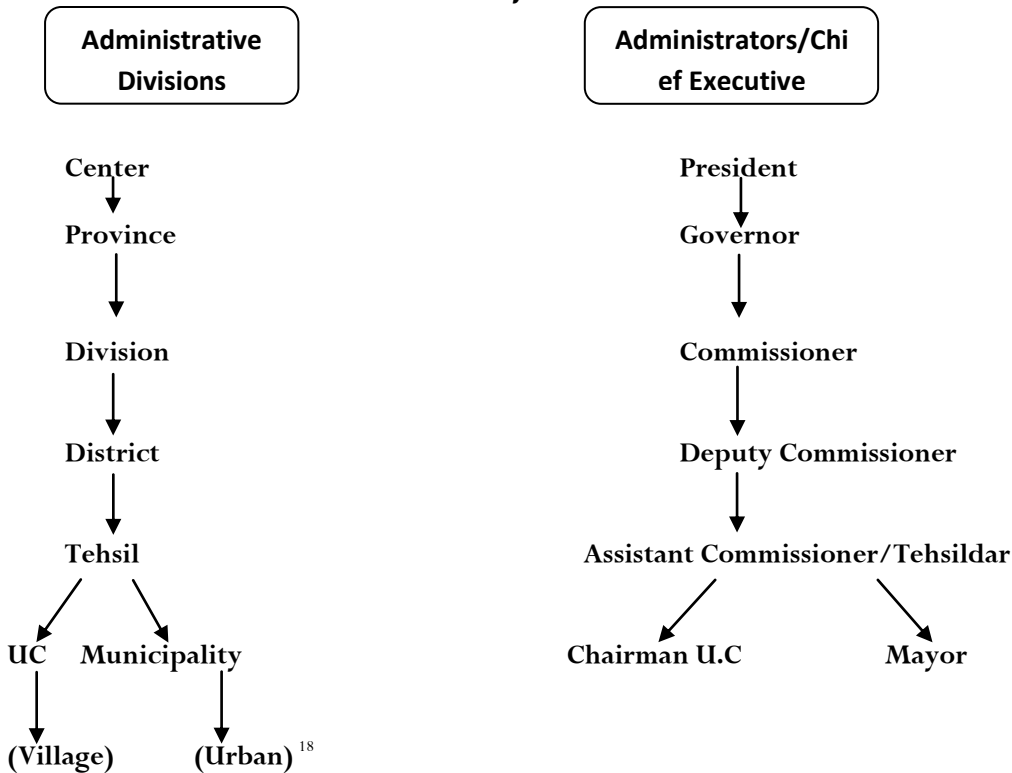
(Figure No. 1)

British Hierarchy of Administration and Revenue Collection



Since independence, some minor reforms were introduced into the LG system (shown in fig no. 2) and that remained functional almost with the same structure for many decades as described in above figure 1.

(Figure No. 2)
Administrative Hierarchy in Post-British Pakistan



In the post-independence period, central government (Waseem, 1994) remained as powerful as ever before and institution of local government remained neglected. Pakistan inherited very few areas where LGs system (mainly confined to Punjab) was developed but even there limited franchise, massive malpractices and firm bureaucratic control hampered their productivity. Moreover, political leadership's inability to redesign LG system according to the needs of masses compounded with variety of economic, political and social problems undermined this tier of governance. In this background, General Ayub Khan took first step to redesign the institution of LGs in Pakistan under Basic Democracies (BDs) which disappeared as the regime came to an end. Later General Zia ul Haq revived Ayub's BD system with an apparent new structure. Similarly, General Musharraf also promulgated LG ordinance in 2001 which also lost effectiveness soon. The details of the LG reforms introduced in military regimes are discussed as follows.

Local Government System in General Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)

In 1958, General Ayub Khan¹⁹ imposed first Martial Law and revived LG system with some reforms through an ordinance. This was first initiative ever to redesign LG system in Pakistan. A new induction²⁰ in the form of BDs into political system marked a new era in the state's political history. The Constitution of 1962 officially declared BDs as 'Electoral College' for the election of national and provincial assemblies and

presidential office. For this reason, General Ayub was criticized for exploiting this system for his own political interests. Apparently 4 tiers were introduced as below:

Table No. 1: BD System 1959

Tiers in LG Model	Members and their selection Process
Divisional Council	Chairman: Commissioner Members: (a) Nominated Officials (b) Elected Representatives Functions: Supervisory and no tax
District Council	Chairman: Deputy Commissioner Members: (a) District level officers (b) Chairman U.C, T.C and M.C in a district Function: Raise funds (tax) and Local projects (police force)
Tehsil Council	Chairman: Tehsildar/AC Members: Chairman of all U.C, T.C and M.C Functions: Supervisory
Union Council	Chairman: Indirectly elected Members: 2/3 nominated and 1/3 elected Functions: tax, projects, police, judicial etc.

In BDs, union council having 10 elected and 5 nominated members was established in each village with the population of 10,000. The members of union council were accountable for law and order situation, development schemes and for collecting taxes in their respective rural areas. These members were elected directly through adult franchise and then elected members used to choose a chairman for union council. The chairman of union committee was elected as ex-officio member of municipal committee. All chairmen of union committees, members of town committees and the heads of municipal committees were appointed either by a provincial government or by Assistant Commissioner/Deputy Commissioner. These directly elected members and some members of higher tiers i.e., tehsil and district councils, were designated as chairman by the government.²¹

Ayub Khan was more wary of the urban middle class,²² especially of the West Pakistan. So, to disconnect them from rural population, he retained urban-middle class divide in BDs system. In rural areas, first tier of local government was union council while in the urban area town committees were set up. Each council elected its head from amongst its members who served as executive heads of the council.

Like colonial customs, Ayub's BDs were chiefly controlled by bureaucracy holding authority of squashing the proceedings and suspending resolutions and orders passed by the local governments (Siddiqi, 1992). It even used to suspend elected members of the councils on several occasions. The central government used the bureaucratic control to counter political rivalry of the regime at the local level. According to Noman (1988), bureaucracy had the central role in selecting candidates at key position of local government in Ayub era. Deputy Commissioners were the most influential

appointments of higher tier of LGs (Divisional Council) and they could practice an effective control over lower tiers.²³ Ayub Khan considered parliamentary system as inefficient as compared to bureaucracy to retain support from BDs.²⁴

The BDs elections on non-party basis in 1959 helped Ayub Khan to kept political parties out of competition which could likely impose a threat to his regime.²⁵ Saddiqa (2007) named it as sham democracy²⁶ which was articulated by the central government through elected, non-elected and local leaders. In February 1960, presidential referendum was held and newly designed BDs elected Ayub as President giving him 95.6 % of yes votes.²⁷ According to Aftab Kazi (1994) BDs' elections in Ayub era did not engross popular representation and that "non-representative decision-making process has represented only the interests of the ruling elites. Such a colonial style of decision-making has affected and influenced the perception of Pakistani nationalities"²⁸ and expanded the feudal monopoly over politics.²⁹

Local Self Government (LSG) in Zia Era (1979-1988)

General Zia took the control of the government through coup d'état. Later on, he revived LG system with an ordinance which remained operational in Pakistan till 2001. The LG system was not given constitutional security and its structure and formation remained at the discretion of the provincial governments. General Zia's model of local government was a blend of local governance system envisaged in Ayub and Bhutto eras. General Zia deliberately adopted Bhutto's LGs reforms which eliminated the direct involvement of bureaucracy in LGs. He introduced voting on adult franchise basis.³⁰ But, Kennedy and Bottern (2006) argued that General Zia borrowed policy of reforming LSG chiefly from Ayub's BDs, under which three local bodies' elections were held in 1979, 1983 and 1985. Nonetheless one must not forget that both models contrasted each other on bureaucratic roles in local government system. Local Self Government Ordinance 1979 brought in some crucial structural, administrative, political and fiscal reforms in the system. The structure of this system was composed of three tiers, as below:

Table No. 2: Local Self Government System 1979

Tiers in LG Model	Members and their selection Process
District Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Chairman and Members: Indirectly ElectedFunctions: Tax, budgetary, public works, supervision of line department, police power
Tehsil Council	This tier was usually abolished.
Union Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Chairman: Indirectly Elected, Members: Directly ElectedFunctions: Tax, Budgetary, Public works, police power
NOTE: Union Councils were under control of AC (bureaucracy). Municipal and town committees were under DC. District Councils/municipal corporations were under commissioner of divisions.	

In Zia era, urban areas, cantonment and federal areas were not considered a part of the District Council. In the same era, union councils were comprised of a village or a group of villages with a population of fifteen thousand (15,000).

Three tiers of local governments were mentioned in the scheme but provincial government usually abolished the middle tier of tehsil council. So, only two tiers; union and district council, elected on adult franchise, were practically existed. The elected members of union and district council used to choose their respective heads. The chairman and councilors were indirectly elected by the relevant electoral colleges constituted by the elected members of the particular body. In Zia era, the national and provincial assemblies marginalized the role of local bodies. Apparently, the influence of bureaucracy was reduced. Moreover, fiscal and political power was extended to the union and district councils which reduced bureaucratic authority.

However, the bureaucracy was not solely left powerless. It was assigned referral role which shattered the perception that LG system was free of bureaucracy's influence. Elections under LSG 1979 held on non-party basis³¹ and remained an essential part of Pakistan's politics. However, holding elections on non-party basis became controversial due to emergence of growing middle class and political parties from 1970's onwards. It resulted in localization and personalization of local level politics; elected member started utilizing development funds with an objective of increasing prospects for their re-elections. Furthermore, the working relationship between local and provincial tiers worsened because provincial government dealt with local bodies as a rival structure of state patronage.³²

Local Government System in Gen Pervez Musharraf Era (1999-2008)

General Musharraf came to power in 1999 by dismissing an elected civilian government. Through an Ordinance in 2000, he introduced³³ three tiers of local bodies; district, tehsil and union councils. This system maintained checks and balances and apparently ensured a bottom up approach of state structure. According to Mohammad Qadeer (2000) Devolution Plan(DP) brought in elected chairmen and lawmaking bodies at the union, tehsil and district levels. The reunification of urban and rural areas across the district level was a prominent feature of the Plan. Union administration was the lowest tier of LG under this scheme. It comprised of chairman, vice-chairman, three union secretaries and other assisting staff. The chairman was the head of the union administration. In case of his absence, vice-chairman acted as his deputy. Under the direction of chairman, the union secretaries were supposed to assist in community development programs, administer union committees and deliver public services.

The middle tier, 'tehsil municipal administration' was chaired by the chairman. It comprised of a chairman, tehsil municipal officer, tehsil officers, chief officers and other officials of the local council service. The tier was assigned the administrative functions, financial affairs, and management of the offices of local government and rural development programs, besides several other responsibilities at the regional, divisional, district, tehsil and lower levels.

The district level had a chairman and other district officers including sub-officers at

tehsil level, who were accountable to the chairman assisted by the District Coordination Officer (DCO). The DCO was appointed by the provincial government and was the coordinating head of the district administration. The chairman was accountable to the people through the elected members of the council. A district council included all union and tehsil chairmen and members elected on the reserved seats in a district. These seats were reserved for women, peasants, workers, and minority communities. The district council had its secretariat under the vice district chairman and had a separate budget allocation. The entire system ensured checks and balances.

In previous models put forth by General Ayub and General Zia, members of union and district councils were directly elected and they further elected their respective chairmen. In DP 2000, the formation of a new local government having special electoral provisions as an important feature replaced three tiers' scheme of early regimes. The union councilors, chairmen and deputy chairmen were directly elected through adult franchise. The $2/3^{\text{rd}}$ of these elected heads of union councils constituting district and tehsil councils further elected $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ members of their respective councils.³⁴ According to that system the district chairman, in order to be elected, needed a bulk of votes from the union councilors and union chairmen rather than public votes in a district.³⁵ Reserved seats for peasants and women were increased to $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ of total seats in union councils as compared to the 5% and 10% in district councils in previous eras. This brought a considerable number of women in local bodies.

Table No. 3: DP 2001: Three Tier System

Tiers of LG	Members and their selection process
District Council	Chairman: Indirectly elected by the elected members Members: $2/3$ elected heads of union and Tehsil councils, $1/3$ elected by these elected heads of union and tehsil councils
Tehsil Council	Chairman: Indirectly elected by elected members Members: $2/3$ elected heads of union councils, $1/3$ elected by these heads of union councils
Union Council	Chairman: Direct Elected Members: directly elected by registered voters
NOTE: No bureaucratic involvement was visible. DCOs, EDOs DDOs and DOs all were bureaucrats but they were supposed to work under elected members of district. But actually it did not happen.	

During 1980s, Zia tried to reduce bureaucratic role in LG system which was quite dominant in Ayub era but did not achieve remarkable success. General Musharraf also introduced fundamental reforms to weaken the bureaucratic influence over LGs and achieved partial success by rescheduling and shifting a large share of their functions to elected local governments. Furthermore, he also eliminated the office of the deputy commissioner. The provincial bureaucracy at the local level was answerable to the elected heads of district and tehsil municipal administration.³⁶ Despite all these facts, bureaucracy was not left powerless as it was used to strengthen the military regime at different levels. In LGO 2000, deputy commissioner was replaced with DCO who was

answerable to the chairman directly. But Musharraf's efforts to reduce bureaucratic influence over LGs resulted in highly complicated relationship between bureaucracy and elected heads of LGs. On the other hand, rural-urban unification was also a distinguished feature of LG system in Musharraf era while it remained an integral part of previous models as colonial legacy.

DP 2000 provided a possibility of a better elected government. It was quite in contrast to previous bureaucratic, centralized and unfocused district government.³⁷ The scheme of government attracted young people mainly through electoral process. Though the responsibilities of those elected LGs representatives were not clearly defined but still common people took part in elections more actively as 79% of the councilors competed for the first time and 64% of them had no family members who had ever participated in elections.³⁸ Though elections were held on non-party basis but councilors had political attachment and rivalry as well. Voters in rural areas kept the political affiliation of the members in view while casting vote.³⁹ Women got 33% of representation through reserved seats for the first time in political history of Pakistan. But this model remained in use until the demise of Musharraf and succeeded government reverted to LSG 1979 model of local governance.

Local Government System in KP (2015)

Imran Khan claimed KP model as revolution.⁴⁰ But what made this model controversial is its adherence with the colonial practices of local politics. This section would elaborate the model while the description colonial continuity would follow in the subsequent part of the paper.

The governance issues due to absence of local bodies pushed the judiciary to compel the elected government to hold LG elections all over the country. In the first stage in 2015, LGs elections were held in cantonment areas on party-basis where Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) got lead votes. In KP, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) got a lead while Awami National Party, Jama'at-e-Islami, PML (N) and other nationalist parties also won seats. PTI introduced a new sort of model for LG through an Act passed by KP Assembly in 2013 and under this model LG elections were held in the province in 2015. In KP, apparently LGs were reformed but it was old wine in new bottle. It still contained many previously practiced provisions. Here KP model is reviewed for better understanding.

Reformed LG System 2015

In this model, the most prominent reform was introduced at union council level. It had been given a new status of 'ward'; having small constituencies, i.e. basic unit village council (Rural areas) and neighborhood village council (urban areas). A ward mainly comprised of 3 to 5 villages or neighborhood Councils.

Composition of Basic Unit Village and Neighborhood Village Council

In this system, 5 to 10 general seats were allocated and elections were held on multi-ward system. No one was in competition with any one and the person with highest votes was elected as chairman and the second leading person as deputy/vice chairman while rest of contestants as councilors. Every village and neighborhood council was having 10 to 15 members. Distribution of other seats was as given below:

General Seats	women	Labor/Farmer	Youth	Minorities
5-10 (according to population size)	2	1	1	1

Age of the Voter

In this new system, minimum age limit for the candidates (to contest) and voters was fixed as 21 years and 18 years respectively.

Party-Based Elections

First time in the history of Pakistan, LGs elections were held on party-basis. The description of the party ticket in LGs elections (2015) is as under:

PTI	88
JI	52
PML-N	44
ANP	44
PPP	38
JUI-F	27
QWP	26
Rāh-e-Ḥaq	13

Election on Tehsil and District Council Levels

The electoral process of both tiers was same i.e. direct and party-based. The members elected chairman and vice-chairman of their respective councils on open basis. Before electing heads of these councils, political parties contested the reserved seats on the basis of proportional representation (according to the ratio of seats the party won). The number of the members of tehsil and district councils was decided on the basis of population size of the respective tehsil/district while voters elected a member from every ward of the district council.

Table No. 4: Model 2015 Introduced by PTI government in KP

Topics under LGs	PTI given Model
Basic Concept of LGs	Devolution of power, participation of public representatives
Nature of Elections	Direct elections on all levels
Party or Non-party-Based	Non-party based on village and neighborhood council level and party based on Tehsil and District levels
Powers of CM and CS	They can suspend LGs through local commission for 30 days
Role of deputy commissioner	Assistant and deputy commissioner will have different roles
Powers of Transfers (deputy commissioner or DCO)	District chairman does not have these powers
Matters of Police Powers	Police department will function under provincial government, District chairman cannot intervene
Institution at Tehsil Level	TC will render municipal powers
Election of Chairman	Indirect

Difference in Rural/Urban areas	Village council for Rural areas and neighborhood council for urban areas
Institute of district coordination	No institute
Seats for women	2 seats in village/neighborhood council, 30% presentation on tehsil and union council levels
Other reserved seats	1:1:1 seats for labor/farmer, youth and minority on village/neighborhood council, proportional representation on TC and UC levels
Joint or proportional presentation based elections	Joint elections
Show of hand or Secret Ballot	Tehsil/district chairmen will be elected on show of hand/open divide system
Authority of union council	No practical institution of union council, now these are called as wards
Powers of district chairman	24 departments will work under tehsil/district chairmen. Rest of departments and police will work under provincial government

Source: Information taken from Newspapers and articles, Compiled by the writers

Continuity of LGs in Pakistan

The colonial local governance was based on non-party basis, bureaucratic top-down model with provincial interference, without constitutional protection, with rural-urban division, without public participation, exclusion of minorities and women, electoral system based on FPTP and joint election system.

The Constitution of 1973 of Pakistan provides space to local level government under Article 7 and describes it as third tier of government. Article 32 states that state will encourage decentralization of power.⁴¹ Article 104 (A) is added after 18th amendment which states that state shall devolve power to elected representatives of local governance. But no protection is offered as according to Constitution of 1973, LG is a provincial matter and provinces can legislate about structure and functioning of LGs.⁴² As in previous section, it has been elaborated that all LG models have been implemented in Pakistan without constitutional protection. General Ayub Khan brought a package of guided democracy. During his era, non-party based elections were held on adult franchise. Moreover, women and minorities⁴³ were excluded to take part in political activities. In next reforms, General Zia practiced the same though apparently bureaucratic role was curtailed.⁴⁴ Basically the colonial legacy of LGs remained intact however a paradigm shift was noticed in the scheme of LGs under Musharraf. Kafeer (2003) says that during Musharraf era, constitutional support for local government was limited and practically Pakistan remained a two-tier state i.e., federal and provincial. Though 17th amendment (2003) provided a limited protection to LG system for a period of only six years, but during that time period provinces were free while

legislating for LGs with the consent of the president.⁴⁵ On the other side, KP model (2015) also shared the same fate.

KP model 2015 is also a bureaucratic model with no constitutional protection. Only a bill was passed by the KP assembly in 2013 without providing any shelter from central and provincial intervention. It contains rural-urban division which hampers the flow of resources from urban to rural area and union councils cannot work due to unavailability of funds.⁴⁶

Women in Pakistan are an important segment of society but their participation at local level government remained controversial. However, contrary to first two models, the third one (DP 2000) provided 33% reservation for women seats through a combination of direct and indirect elections. This brought politico-cultural development in society as more than 36,000 women got elected in political arena. This shattered the perception that women are less interested to take part in politics. As a result, a considerable number of women councilors enjoyed state power game who focused on gender issues i.e. poverty reduction and mainstreaming of women in politics. Under DP (2000), women were elected rather than only nominated. But unfortunately, KP model (2015) reverted to earlier models of Ayub and Zia. As detail depicts that no separate seats were allocated to women other than 30% of total reserved seats for women, youth and labor altogether.

All models of LGs in Pakistan are bureaucratic. Influence of bureaucracy remained unavoidable as a colonial legacy. Apparently, like Musharraf Model, in KP model (2015) the deputy commissioner is also working under directions of elected chairman. But practically, district level government was under control of deputy commissioner while DCOs in every department were assisting him.

All LGs reform plans launched in the military regimes brought complications of their own nature. LG elections on non-party basis⁴⁷ remained an essential part of Pakistani politics but due to absence of active involvement of prominent mass based political parties and vibrant middle class, the LG system failed to deliver productive services to the masses. In previous models introduced by General Ayub and General Zia, members of union and district councils were directly elected and they used to further elect their relevant chairmen. In LGO 2000⁴⁸ the formation of a new local government with special electoral scheme replaced the previous one with same three tiers structure (see Table 3). KP model (2015) restored practice of previous models regarding electoral process. In this case, elections of tehsil and district councils are again held indirectly without public participation. The proportional representational system and party-based elections are offered only on union level which is likely to be ineffective because *biradari* (clan) influence is stronger than political parties. The local groups participated as political representative cannot win without help of any influential *biradari* which directs the voter behavior.⁴⁹

In Model 2015, electoral system was based on FPTP system with single member constituency, at show of hands. Minimum age limit for voters was 18 years on joint electorate system. But neighborhood and village council were contested on multi-members constituencies with adult franchise and joint electorate. The candidate with

highest votes was elected as chairman while person with second highest votes was chosen as deputy chairman while rest of contestants as councilors. Proportional representation list system was also maintained on all levels in which a political party can fill reserved seats on the basis of total number of general seats it secured.

On the other hand, 2015 model implemented in KP is apparently new. Though some changes occurred on all levels of this model but proved that it was the same old product in new packing. Although a new administrative set up of city government in Peshawar replaced the old set up of district council and Municipal Corporations. District councils were converted to district government and Tehsil Municipal Committees to Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMAs) alongside an increasing number from 61 to 69. But concept TMAs was not a new one. It can be traced in British era when TMAs were formed.

A chart of comparison given below elaborates clearly the colonial continuity of LGs in Pakistan:

Table 5: Colonial Continuity of LGs in Pakistan

BDs 1959-68	LSGs 1979-99	DP 2000-2008	LGs KP Model 2015
Non-party based	Non-party based	Non-party based	party based only on union level
Rural-Urban Division	Rural-Urban division	Rural-Urban unification	Rural-Urban division
Public participation only on union level	Public participation only on union level	Public participation only on union level	Public participation only on union level
Bureaucratic involvement	Removed bureaucratic influence apparently but bureaucracy remained intact	No bureaucratic role, even DCO was answerable to elected Nazim of district but practically it could not happen	separation in roles of LGs and bureaucracy apparently but it remained active
Provincial intervention	Provincial intervention	Apparently no intervention by the provincial government	Provincial government intervention
No constitutional protection	No constitutional protection	No constitutional protection. ⁵⁰	No constitutional protection, bill was just passed by the KP assembly
Joint Elections	Joint Elections	Separate elections electorate for minority	Joint elections
Women were excluded	Women were excluded	33% seats were reserved for women.	No seats were reserved for women separately other than 30% seats for women minorities, youth and labor/farmers altogether

No proportional representation	No proportional representation	No Proportional representation	Proportional representation was offered on union council level only
Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV)/First past the post (FPTP) ⁵¹	SNTV/FPTP	SNTV/FPTP	SNTV/FPTP (PR system was offered on union council level only)

Source: Compiled by the Authors

Reforms in LG system have been introduced in KP (2015) but they have yet to prove their worth. However, elections on party base and a limited proportional representation can likely bring productive results.

Responses by the Islamist Political Parties

It is well taken by the contemporary social science scholarship that the present cannot be easily disentangled from the past, and the modern notions and concerns are a function of the traditional and the past. Ideal persons, ideals, magnificent events, imaginations, and both temporal and spatial references embedded in the past shape and transform our current thinking, planning, strategies, institutional designs and statecraft. Thus revealed guidance, prophetic exemplary practices and their ethical codes all can be consulted for shaping our current institutional arrangements ranging from economic to social to political. Our approach to good governance in the light of doctrinal guidance is premised on this epistemological premise.

In a country like Pakistan that orients its basic ideological premise from the doctrinal sources and where Objective Resolution necessitates that all legislations should be in line with the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah, the separability of public and communal domains of life from the revealed guidance (which is supposed to be a private concern in a secular state) is not the fundamental question to be addressed. On the contrary, the basic question is how the bridges are built by the Islamic scholarship as well as Islamic social movements, between the revealed sources and the modern notions of governance. So the fundamental question is not whether Islamic doctrinal sources promote good governance or not but how the relationship between the doctrinal sources and the governance practices is established by its interpreters.

Like most developing nations, lack of good governance is a serious issue and concern among the Muslim societies. Rampant corruption, nepotism, low human development, centralization of power and authority and autocratic ruling elite make up the sociopolitical landscape of the current day Muslim world.

In 2007, the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) prepared a working paper on the Islamic principles of good governance where eminent scholars and academicians presented their views.

In his chapter on "Qur'ānic guidance on good governance", Zein et al (2007) mentions principles of trust, justice, shūrā, Islamic humanism, and the preservation of religion, reason, progeny, wealth and life (objectives of sharia) as the lynchpin on which the

structure of Islamic concept of good governance is premised upon. There is another interesting discussion on governance in a cross-cultural context with a specific emphasis on the ethics and judicious use of power. The use and deployment of power by the rulers and authorities should be subjected to the stated notions of trust, justice, consultation and greater welfare of the public specifically the marginalized and weaker sections of society.

Pakistan being a state created in the name of Islam and its politics being ridden with slogans of Islamisation, it was extremely important that its political institutions have been subjected to these Islamic notions of good governance. More specifically, under the principle of consultation and justice, the power and authority needed to be devolved to lower level such that people at the grass root level had a decisive say in the affairs of the state as well as state power was primarily focused on enhancing the welfare of the weaker sections.

In his comparative study of two mainstream Islamist parties in Pakistan (i.e., Jamā'at e-Islāmi and Jami'at 'Ulamā e-Islām -F), Amin (2014) provides an empirical data revealing the level of attention being paid to local bodies and decentralization in the Islamist political discourse. Using Manifesto Coding Scheme, Amin analyzed the news statements of JI and JUI-F leaders published by Daily Jang and Nawā-e-Waqt during 1988-2006. The author also codified their electoral manifestoes; the results are shown in table's No. 6, 7 & 8.

As shown in the tables, in comparison to other sub-domains, both mainstream Islamist parties have paid less attention to decentralization and local governance. This fact is revealed from both the manifesto content as well as the news data. However, looking at the JI and JUI-F in comparative fashion, the JUI-F has relatively paid more attention to decentralization than the JI. (Hint: the positive sign shows favorable mention of the issue while the negative sign shows unfavorable mention of the issue, for more details see, Amin 2014).

Table 6: Three most significant Domains in the News Content of JI & JUI-F (1988-2006)

Issue/Party	JI	JUI-F
Issue 1	Political System (39.90%)	Political System (41.74%)
Issue 2	External Relations (21.90%)	External Relations (17.10%)
Issue 3	Islamic Ideology & Jihad Activism (10.71%)	Islamic Ideology & Jihad Activism (12.92%)
Total (three categories)	72.51%	71.76%

Source: Amin (2014)

Table No.7 (JI) Sub-Domains: Political System				
Sub-Domain	Manifesto		News Content	
	Count	In Percent	Count	In Percent
1. Govt. & Admin. Efficiency +	57	57.0	83	7.6
2. Govt. & Admin. Efficiency -	1	1.0	0	0
3. Corruption & Accountability	32	32.0	89	8.2
4. Decentralization & Prov. Autonomy +	10	10.0	57	5.2
5. Centralization +	0	0	0	0
6. Political Activism	0	0	859	79.0
Total	100	100	1088	100

Source: Amin (2014)

Table No.8 (JUI-F)				
Domain: Political System				
Sub-Domain	Manifesto		News Content	
	Count	In Percent	Count	In Percent
1. Govt. & Admin. Efficiency +	17	39	58	8
2. Govt. & Admin. Efficiency -	0	0	0	0
3. Corruption & Accountability	11	25	19	3
4. Decentralization & Prov. Autonomy +	10	23	93	12
5. Centralization +	6	14	0	0
6. Political Activism	0	0	589	78
Total	44	100	759	100

Conclusion

The LG system in Pakistan failed to deliver services to the people at the local level as it retained most of the practices of the colonial period. The inconsistency in political power structure in all the addressed eras also hampered the prospects of success of LG system in Pakistan. Shifting of two-tier system to three-tier and *vice-versa* and lack of uniformity in the procedure of selection of administrative posts in LG setup had also left some significant negative implications for the system. Furthermore, lack of constitutional support has also created complications to smooth and efficient implementation of any LG system for a long time. It was hoped that in Musharraf era paradigm shift and increased representation of women would make the LG system worthwhile but it lost its credibility as soon as the military regime ended. Briefly, the study concludes that three major Local Government Ordinances, Basic Democracies of

1959 implemented by General Ayub Khan, Local Self Government of 1979 issued by General Zia-ul-Haq, and the Devolution Plan of 2000 applied by General Pervez Musharraf, could not sustain as the military regimes designed them to prolong their regimes by instigating representatives of local government to work more for the interests of the regime rather than the masses. There is a perception that newly launched LG system 2015 model in KP may bring some productive results for the common people as it is introduced during a democratic regime. But, only party-based elections cannot help local government to perform well. Therefore, major reforms are needed to boost up the system. In case of failure, it would prove ineffective as previous LG models had been failed during military regimes.

Notes and References

¹ Sajid and Uzma, 2014

² Abbasi and Mussarrat, 2015

³ Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005, 381

⁴ Anjum, 2011, 847

⁵ Rodden, 2003, Crook and Sverrisson 1999, Samoff 1990, Smith 1985, Solnick 1995

⁶ Naz, 2005

⁷ It is renamed as 'Mumbai' now.

⁸ Top Down model is an administrative approach of federalism in which powers are mainly concentrated in center and from there they are invested to the other constituent units with the consent of center only.

⁹ Majumdar, 1960

¹⁰ Siddiqui, 1992

¹¹ Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005

¹² Naz, 2005, Tinker, 1968

¹³ Ahmed, Saleem and Iftikhar, 2012

¹⁴ Muhammad, 2004

¹⁵ Gardezi, 1985

¹⁶ Ayaz and Yasin, 2011

¹⁷ Khan 1989

¹⁸ Khan 1989

¹⁹ Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005

²⁰ Musarrat and Azhar, 2012, Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005

²¹ Rizvi, 1974, Siddiqui, 1992

²² Jahan, 1972

²³ Eugene and Ziring, 1977

²⁴ Khan, 1967

²⁵ Ahmad, 1985

²⁶ It is meant that though democracy was practiced but was controlled and guided by few persons through ordinances and other means of power.

²⁷ People criticized that the BDs were used as 'Electoral College', in this way the voting right of people was denied.

²⁸ Nayak, 1994, 116

²⁹ Skindar Mirza (Governor) made a feudal based political party; Ghulam Muhammad (Governors) linked himself with this feudal class, Feroz Khan Noon (P.M) was a feudal

from Punjab, Abdul Rasheed-- a parliamentarian was a feudal from KP and *Perzada* Abdul Sitar was from Sindh.

³⁰ The sections 12 and 13 of LGO 1979 are elaborating this subject.

³¹ Saddiqa, 2007, Chaudhary, Ahmed and Farooq, 2014

³² Wilder, 1999

³³ Anjum, 2001

³⁴ Akramov and Qureshi et al., 2008

³⁵ Cheema, Khawaja and Qadir, 2005

³⁶ Manning et al., 2003

³⁷ Cheema, Khawaja, Qadir 2005

³⁸ Lunthans, 2000, 573

³⁹ Ahmed, Saleem and Iftikhar, 2012

⁴⁰ Geo Television, 2015, Daily Pakistan, 2015

⁴¹ Pakistan Constitution, 1973

⁴² Khaliq, 2012

⁴³ Ahmad, 1985, Saddiqa 2007, Noman, 1988

⁴⁴ Chaudhary, Ahmed and Farooq, 2014

⁴⁵ Chaudhary, Ahmed and Farooq, 2014

⁴⁶ Khaliq, 2014

⁴⁷ Saddiqa, 2007, Chaudhary, Ahmed and Farooq, 2014

⁴⁸ Akramov and Qureshi et al., 2008, 2

⁴⁹ Ahmed, 2009, 107

⁵⁰ The following link would be helpful for more detailed study about comparative study of Local Government Acts 2013 of Punjab and KP,
http://www.dTCe.org.pk/dTCe/Data/Misc%20Reports/ANALYSIS_OF_LOCAL_GOVERNMENT_STATUTES_%20Report.pdf

⁵¹ Singlt Non-Transferable Votes (SNTV) and First Past the Post (FPTP) are two voting system prevailed in a federal structure. In both of these systems a single person rules with majority votes while other votes are wasted. For further detail please see the book Mahmood, S. ed. 2007. *Good Governance Reform Agenda in Pakistan: Current Challenges*. New York: NOVA Science Publishers. 86-99.

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